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TRANSLATIONS ON WESTERN EUROPE
No. 1009

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AUSTRIA

CARINTHIA MINORITY QUESTION REVIEWED

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27 Dec 76 p 3

[Article by Anneliese Rohrer: "Brinkmanship in Carinthia--Ethnic Group Councils Endangered by Distrust"]

[Text] There continue to be innumerable warning signals on the route to complete fulfillment of the State Treaty, all saying: Caution--Danger of Conflict! While one can hear nothing but a note of confidence in politicians' and experts' circles at this time, behind the scenes the amount of optimism is considerably smaller. The continuing difficulty of the political and legal situation is shown by the result of the secret language census, which in Carinthia has now been related to the community structure of 1955. And this is but a detail.

In the lists of those responsible at the moment, only 3 Carinthian localities, according to reports, are shown to have a Slovene population of more than 25 percent and thus, in accordance with the ethnic groups law, would qualify for bilingual place signs—Windisch—Bleiberg with 33.8 percent, Villach with 26.8 and Schwabegg with 25.3. These figures, however, it was possible to arrive at only by taking the percentages of submitted envelopes, not those of the people entitled to participate. If the latter method had been chosen, even in Windisch—Bleiberg the percentage would have amounted to only 23.1. Thus there will be an excellent opportunity for arguing with figures, for first there will have to be an agreement by everyone on what is to be considered "manipulation," and what is not. Should there be differences of opinion, the first conflict would certainly arise.

The second conflict is already standing by. The community Zell Pfarre has come up with no result at all, the ballots there having been burned. A repetition of the count does not appear to be politically feasible. According to well-informed circles, if it was decided on, the gendarmery would have to be "mobilized." Thus the trend apparently is toward "forgetting." Given good will on the part of all concerned, this would be no problem,

for Zell Pfarre is clearly a Slovene locality. If, however, certain nationalist German circles should insist on a total result of the census in the province, an uncommonly difficult situation would result. For actually the 14th of November has had only one result: the two extreme positions have hardened. The leadership of the Slovenes in Carinthia is now justified in pointing out in the next negotiations that it is capable of accomplishing something in its ethnic group. The boycott slogan, meanwhile also recognized 75 percent by Federal Chancellor Kreisky, has had its effect.

But warning signals also have already appeared concerning some less delicate points. The ordinance which is to create the ethnic group councils is virtually ready and is scheduled to, and will, take effect 1 February. Part of the Slovene leadership have, however, already expressed the deepest distrust in their council, fearing an exclusion of the People's Council and the Central Association. Unless this distrust is removed in the next few weeks, the ordinance will remain a piece of paper as far as the Slovenes are concerned. The council then will not be able to constitute itself and thus will not be able to make itself heard when the next steps are taken—e.g., the regulations concerning the official language—and will not have a voice in deciding subsidy questions. Responsible persons do not even want to think of what this would mean.

On the other hand, they see no reason for this distrust. According to them, the type of the composition of the council for the Slovenes has been agreed on with the leadership, insures half the seats for the two Carinthian organizations and, moreover, contains the possibility of protesting the appointment of individual representatives with the Higher Administrative Court if one takes the view that they are not conducive to contributing to the "maintenance and strengthening of the ethnic group."

A radical attitude of the Slovenes probably also would have the result that nationalist German circles would view it as a confirmation of the Slovenes' "excessive demands." This in turn would certainly affect the attitude of the three provincial parties. Officially all one hears today are confirmations of there being no gap between the individual Federal and provincial parties. People who are familiar with the situation, however, say that the closed formation in which they are proceeding jointly in public could break up at any time. Others dismiss this fear with the argument that a "differentiated linguistic settlement" on this subject is only too understandable politically and has no essential significance.

The danger of a breakaway of a provincial party, particularly the Carinthian People's Party or Liberal Party, has not been banished completely. People's Party leader of the negotiations Mock stated in a conversation in July of this year: "All this is brinkmanship." It appears he is still right.

CANADA

EDITORIAL ON QUEBEC INDEPENDENCE ISSUE

Montreal LA PRESSE in French 24 Nov 76 p A4

[Editorial by Guy Cormier: "The Subject Doesn't Raise the Temperature"]

[Text] One of the most extraordinary paradoxes in Quebec since the start of the independence movements (at the end of the 1950's) is the incapacity of statistics to calm the anxieties of those who are afraid of "separatism" as if it were the bubonic plague.

For the past 20 years everything goes on as if from one hour to the next someone was taking the subject's temperature (the subject being the Quebecois) to check on whether it has gone up a degree. Reading the thermometer is invariably reassuring and does no good, there will always be anguished voices to cry: "But what a disaster if it has to be that suddenly Quebec began to run a fewer of 104!" But the patient is not running a fever of 104 degrees (Fahrenheit, naturally). Makes no difference! In the face of all the evidence the doubt persists. "Oh, but what if the temperature goes up!"

We saw the same game during the elections. On 10 November a poll showed that only 18 percent of the voters favored independence. Yesterday the results of a new poll showed that the 18 percent were now only 11 percent (but the proportion of undecided, about 25 percent, never varies at all). Made known after the PQ took over the government, this statistic should have quieted people with anxious dispositions.

Now it will fail to reassure once and for all. Why? Because our contemporaries are well aware that nearly all social and political upheavals are due to the persevering action of minorities. In other words, the problem is always imperfectly stated by statistics, because the numbers count less than the intensity of convictions in the minority. We now know with verified knowledge that an active minority can change societies.

This is not a new truth. At the beginning of the Christian era the Christians were not the majority.

Let us take an example closer to our own time. For years we have been hearing that CITE LIBRE [Free City] was the starter of the "peaceful revolution" in Quebec, and then of the emergence at Ottawa of what came to be called "French Power." This is an outrageously cavalier way of looking at history. Makes no difference, there are some elements of truth in it. The CITE LIBRE group unquestionably had an influence. It does not matter much whether it was good or bad. Now what was CITE LIBRE in 1950, the year it was born? A little magazine, poorly printed but sustained by the fervor of a dozen individuals.

So it is not the numbers that count, but the intensity of convictions. To those worried souls not to be calmed by any statistic there is only one advice: pray. Pray that proselytism, whether in the service of the independence movement or whatever other cause, may never stray from the paths of democracy.

Quebec escaped fascism, and it escaped communism, two perversions that ravaged the universe in the course of the century. That should be enough to reassure everyone. For the time being....

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CANADA

TRUDEAU SPEECH AFTER PQ VICTORY ANALYZED

Montreal LA PRESSE in French 25 Nov 76 p A4

[Editorial by chief editorial writer Marcel Adam: "Serene and Conciliatory Proposals"]

[Text] When he addressed the Canadian people yesterday evening on radio and television, Prime Minister Trudeau made an ambivalent gesture.

Of course he intended to reassure the non-Quebec Canadians by emphasizing that democracy is alive and well in Quebec, that its population rejects separatism by a large majority, that Mr Levesque and those around him are sincere people attached to democracy and liberty.

During the 8 years he has been in power, Mr Trudeau has only addressed the population in this way three times: in 1970 at the time of the crisis provoked by terrorist acts; in 1975 during the economic crisis provoked by inflation; and finally this time, on the election of the Quebec Party.

Now because he also tells the rest of Canada that the PQ victory means that "the crisis is immediate, the challenge is here present," Mr Trudeau dramatizes this political event.

Which leads one on to think that the PQ victory should be interpreted as follows: The PQ voters who are not separatists are not and will not remain federalists at any cost. In other words, and Mr Trudeau said so last night, things must change, and quickly.

But what is it that must change? The French-speaking Quebecers wish to be well governed, live well and flourish in their own language and culture. A majority of them still prefer having this happen within the continental limits of Canada. But if one day they should be convinced, rightly or wrongly, that this can only be so in a separated state, it is likely today that they would resolve to take that risk.

Now what does Mr Trudeau say to this? Let us take note that the tone and language employed by the prime minister are remarkably serene and conciliatory, that he commits himself to prove his flexibility and spirit of collaboration in the negotiations that will get under way between Ottawa and Quebec within the framework "of legality and the Constitution."

For those who fault him for his inflexibility in the matter of sharing powers, he recalls that Ottawa had given proof of flexibility and yielded powers at the end of the 1960's, to add immediately that one would deceive oneself to believe that a new sharing of power would resolve the crisis since those who had decided to destroy the country (for which read the PQ) would not abandon their goal because they gained increased powers in the areas of immigration, communications, taxes and revenues, and cultural life.

He says, however, that the "Quebec people are proud, they want to flourish free and independent," and the only question that matters is this: "Who in Quebec or in Canada can best assure their flowering with respect to freedom and independence?" And consequently the Canadians are supposed to answer "by gestures and attitudes vis-a-vis the language and culture, the regional disparities and social justice."

How is one to interpret these remarks? Note that for the first time Mr Trudeau recognizes that the Quebec people wish to flourish in freedom and independence, admitting by implication that these notions are not paradoxical in regard to federalism.

Is it possible to read into this an invitation to the rest of Canada to accept the idea that Quebec should obtain the means to support the policies destined to assure its linguistic and cultural flourishing? And consequently an appropriate sharing of constitutional authority?

The last part of his speech was given over to praise of Canadian federalism. He handled the subject with nobility and a high-principled viewpoint. Let us underscore this phrase, of capital significance from the lips of a man seen as rigid and inflexible: "In my opinion Canada should not, cannot survive by use of force."

This statement was moving, because though all Quebecers longed to hear him speak those words, they did not expect it. This was the profession of feeling of a highly responsible head of government, in the humanist sense of the word, since he added that "this country will not remain unified unless the totality of its citizens wish to live together in one civil society."

Mr Trudeau also spoke in sympathetic terms of Mr Levesque, with whom he worked for a long time to get Quebec to come into its share of social and democratic progress, but from whom history, by an unfortunate turnabout, divided him to bring on a confrontation between them in a singular combat.

Some people who do not trust Mr Trudeau, who do not believe he is capable of adaptability and flexibility but rather is determined to rebuild his political credit and resume the initiative of operations in a game that has become extremely delicate and dangerous, will take his remarks of last night with skepticism.

For the present I prefer to see therein a gesture of political realism but also one of good will, in order to resolve in the best way possible a grave crisis that could destroy not only the work of his political life but above all a secular enterprise, admirable in many respects, in which he believes very sincerely.

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CANADA

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF PQ VICTORY DISCUSSED

Montreal LA PRESSE in French 25 Nov 76 p A 4

[Editorial by Ivan Guay: "Knowing the Rules of the Game"]

[Text] The president of the Quebec Employers' Association, Mr Pierre Des Marais II, in an address delivered Tuesday before the Montreal Chamber of Commerce, enumerated the principal anxieties in the business world engendered by the victory of the PQ. Following many other businessmen over the last 10 days, Mr Des Marais emphasized that the major uneasiness of heads of companies was rooted in their ignorance of the new rules of the economic game the Quebec Party was going to set up.

One must agree, in fact, that these enterprises cannot prosper, and sometimes cannot even survive in a climate of uncertainty. They need social stability and familiarity with the government's economic policy. That is the minimum prerequisite to make possible calculations on the medium and long-term future and to justify an investment policy. That is why Mr Des Marais said: "The sooner this question of referendum is settled, the sooner we can all concentrate our collective efforts on the new impulse to be given to Quebec."

But here is the picture. The PQ cannot hold its referendum on secession at short notice. It has in fact committed itself to provide first a good administration of public affairs, so the citizens can judge it on its efficiency and accept its independence option. So Quebec is thus enclosed in a vicious circle in which it needs large investments to get the economy going and thus demonstrate the efficiency of the PQ, whereas the investors are precisely frightened of the PQ. For it is not secession that scares the investors, but rather the social-democratic option of the PQ. Thus Mr Des Marais goes on to say that "a second source of anxiety is found in the matter of what interpretation to put on different points of the PQ program."

One might believe that it is too early to judge on how well-founded the anxieties of these businessmen may turn out to be. For the social-democratic wing of the PQ does not seem to have enough influence to throw the business world into a panic. And yet the population in a general way favors a large

measure of social democracy. One must not forget that Quebec is in a special situation, namely that of a parasite on the North American industrial society. Quebec in fact simply skipped the whole stage of industrial production. The people of Quebec have passed almost without transition from a pre-industrial economy (agriculture, export of raw materials, etc.) to a post-industrial economy in which the tertiary sector of government services predominates. The citizens are thus led to believe that the government can increase social services almost without limit, and they demand more and more of them.

It is this aspect of the economy of Quebec that frightens the businessmen. For expansion of the government is necessarily accompanied by enormous budgets which place an excessive tax burden on private enterprise and the most productive individuals. This anxiety goes beyond the heads of Quebec enterprises and extends to foreign financiers whom no Quebec government can afford to do without. Spokesmen of the two principal financial evaluation agencies in Wall Street, Standard & Poor and Moody's, said on Tuesday that they did not like such high deficits as those of the government of Quebec, and that they were going to wait and see how the economic policy of the new government would turn out and then evaluate the risks for the lenders.

These financiers have even asked that Prime Minister Levesque visit them to clarify the situation. Now here is the only way for the new government to break the vicious circle previously mentioned. In other words the PQ should commit itself, at least for a few years, to table the more costly of their planned social expenditures and run the province much more like a private enterprise than a social assistance operation.

Insofar as the Levesque government will play straight in its first round, at the very least, the game of a capitalist government, industrial investors and lenders in the financial community will place their confidence in it. This is doubtless the only way to set Quebec on the road of certain economic recovery essential to social tranquility. For in Quebec the more than 10 percent unemployed are not going to stay quiet for long.

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CHAIRMAN OF NEW COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY INTERVIEWED

Copenhagen ARBEJDERAVISEN in Danish 1-15 Dec 76 pp 14-15

[Interview with Benito Scocozza, chairman of the Communist Labor Party; date and place not specified]

[Text] Benito Scocozza has been elected chairman of the Communist Labor Party [KAP]. Benito Scocozza has been in the Marxist-Leninist movement since its start. We have asked him about the background for the establishment of the KAP, about the history which went before it, and about the task of the party.

[Question] You participated in establishing KFML [Communist League of Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary] in 1968. What was the background for establishing it?

[Answer] There were actually two developments which ran together. One of them originated from the beginning of the 1960's when the struggle in the international communist movement broke out in the open. Facing each other were first of all the Soviet leaders with Krushchev leading and on the other side China's Communist Party with Mao Tse-tung leading. The conflict involved the real crux of Marxism. Should a revolutionary path be followed? Or should a nonrevolutionary path be followed? The conflict involved, e.g., the path to socialism, where the Soviet leaders favored a parliamentary path...but that is a long story, which we have explained many times. In short, there were several of us who wanted to take the international conflict up for discussion in our party at that time, DKP [Communist Party of Denmark], but it was refused; some were thrown out, others left.

[Question] You said something about two developments. What was the other development?

[Answer] It was what has been called the turning towards the left at the end of the sixties. This is also a long story, which we have analyzed more closely in, e.g., KOMMUNISTISK TIDSSKRIFT, which has been published just now. But briefly: criticism of the existing society arose in connection

with the battle against the aggression of American imperialism against the indochinese people. That was good. But it was a criticism which did not go much beyond a settlement with the authorities.

The Settlement With the Authorities

However, it provided an impetus for the political debate here at home too, and it provided a basis for gathering the few Marxist-Leninists, who existed, around an organized job to create a communist party....

[Question] Thus this led to the creation of KFML in the fall of 1968. We probably cannot say that KFML broke through immediately?

[Answer] No, even though to start with we believed that we actually would break through fast. We did not understand that the limitations of the antiauthoritarian revolt, its antipathy towards Marxism, towards organization, even more so in a democratic centralized organization, and against revolutionary work as such, also affected us. In part we were isolated, and in part the weaknesses broke through among ourselves....

[Question] Nowadays we are being asked why we did not form the party already at that time?

[Answer] One thing was—as has already been said—that we were weak. Another thing was that there was actually nobody who had experience in revolutionary work on a Marxist—Leninist basis. And finally, of course, we only had the most meager basis, which had not been developed on the basis of basic analyses, let alone on the basis of a political practice. We therefore believed that there had to be a preparative phase for the party, during which the base was to be developed and established and a class struggle practice was to be developed along the way...and this also proved to be correct. It actually became a real long process, and only in recent years has KFML obtained enough experience so that it could develop a political practice in earnest, in fact, a concrete policy through application of Marxism—Leninism to Danish and international conditions. In politics generalities and incantations are of no use....

[Question] Are you satisfied with the results which KFML has achieved?

[Answer] Yes, to a high degree. By forming KAP the convention has confirmed that the preparations of the party have been carried out. But this doesn't mean that the job is finished and that we are now a big and fine party, which knows everything....

[Question] Can you explain that in more detail?

[Answer] Yes. I want to take up one aspect we have inherited from KFML.

The Inheritance From KFML--The "Liberal" Opportunism

It is the "liberal" opportunism and the fight against it. Let me expand on what "liberal" opportunism is. "Liberal" opportunism is basically disease, whose symptoms are the idea that one can find a shortcut to the goal. Everything will work out if the eternal truths are only stated loudly enough. One uses empty phrases instead of live politics. One is not able to join with others in a concrete, combined policy, but demands that they must be in agreement with the entire base of the party, if one is to cooperate with them. One is not able to think independently, carry out independent analyses and develop Marxism-Lenism further. Instead of closing the window and looking at the reality one lives in, one buries oneself in books and pulls citations out of Marxist classics. This is of course completely contrary to the method the authors of the classics used themselves; they were especially close to reality. And all these forms of "liberal" opportunism also penetrate the organization itself. One gets, what we call war communism, a breathtaking race, organizational and even bureaucratic solutions for political problems and a working style which actually isolates party members from the life the working class lives in.... We are busy fighting all of this, and before the convention we also settled a few things, not in the least writing citations and making phrases, but we are far from the end of the path....

[Question] What is the background for this "liberal" opportunism?

[Answer] There are several reasons why it came about. Let me take some of them at random: There is the small-group sectarianism whose root has been the isolation of the alliance for many years. Then there is the short age of the party. Isn't it reasonable that one clings to the general truth when one is unsure? And this brings us to one more reason: a shamefully poor training activity in the alliance in recent years. And then there is an essentially political factor: it is the fear, the justified and necessary fear of ending up in reformism. We are surrounded by, yes, I would prefer to say besieged by reformism from all sides. Just look at SF [Socialist People's Party] and DKP and at all the organizations which are running on their heels...at the moment it is especially their chairman-initiative which they are running in the heels of. Every time we have discussion meetings with SF, DKP, VS [Leftist Socialist Party], and all the organizations, we are confronted with a wall of reformism. We have seen one group after the other become, oh, so practical in their politics. Yes, some even believe one can create labor governments within capitalism and conduct a progressive policy while capitalism is still existing. We are thus exposed to a reformist bombardment, and isn't it then understandable if one sometimes protects oneself by shutting oneself up in one's own shell and tries to protect oneself against all forms of reformist contamination just by repeating our general revolutionary points of view?

[Question] How important is it for the party that reformism besieges us, as you say, and that the "liberal" opportunism is inherited from KFML?

[Answer] We have obtained a program in principle for the party. It has been coined independently from Marxism-Leninism. It is a solid point of departure for the party work. That is one thing. The other thing is to expand on the program and reform it for practical action in the class struggle. This is the task. We have become associated with the struggle up to the agreement, with the fight against unemployment and with the fight against the superpowers. The party must now continue where it left off with KFML's summer camp last summer. At the camps we discussed the fight against the agreement and unemployment. It will be in the center in the future. And the anti-imperialistic work must be emphasized seriously. The superpowers are no joke, and it is high time to start this battle for real.

And now we have arrived at the party's task pertaining to the siege we are being subjected to by reformism. We will break through in these concrete areas, present our policy, gather around concrete demands, and simultaneously fight with tooth and nails so the reformists will not be able to use the struggles to harness them for their reformist strategy.

The Internal Life of the Party--Strengthen the Political-Ideological Level

[Question] Can the party manage this task?

[Answer] Politically we are strong. But, of course, that is not enough. We will start with a real development of the members' political-ideological level, through education, through more detailed discussions about individual questions on the class struggle....For a long time we have not had time for this because we had the program discussion, which necessarily had to take up everything between heaven and earth. We will develop democracy in the party so that we will be able to kill bureaucratic tendencies, which have an especially favorable soil to grow in when the organization is expanding rapidly, when there are few who have experience in leadership work, and when one has to overcome the breathless race, which the preparation of a convention really is....

[Question] Now you have been talking about the struggles of the working class and the party as related to them. But haven't you kept a rabbit in the hat? Wasn't the intention that KAP should use the time which is coming to prepare the nomination for the general elections? In any case, the nonsocialist press wants to make it appear this way!

[Answer] Yes, the nonsocialist press cannot imagine how a party could be anything but an organization of voters. In their opinion parties are created for making nominations for the general elections. And we must fight this opinion, not only because it is written in the press, but first of all because it is a very widespread point of view.

The Party Is Not a Voters' Organization

In our program we have clarified our opinion about the role of parliament. One cannot enact the transition to socialism in parliament, and parliament is the tool of the bourgeoisie. If we were to arrive at the point where a revolutionary party received so many votes that it threatened capitalism, then we know that is is the end of parliament and all phrases about democracy.

We can therefore only use parliament as a platform and for making proposals which possibly might be accepted in individual areas. But the condition for this is that these proposals must be a continuation of the struggle out in the working class. It is this struggle the party must be in the middle of and try to lead in the right direction. Participation in parliamentary work can only be a completely subordinate element in the party work. Or conversely: if it becomes the core of the party work, it will go with us as it went with DKP, who now openly says that parliament must be the center for decisions in society...experience shows that one can easily succumb to the bourgeoisie-democratic illusions. We must fight this with all means.

[Question] What about the nominations?

[Answer] From what I have said, there is no reason why KAP could not nominate candidates as soon as it has developed its work in the masses so far that participation in parliamentary elections may be a stage in the party work. We will not get into the same situation as VS is in, where VS to many "voters" stand as the parliamentary group, while VS is actually a chaos of sections and political disorder. VS know that themselves, but they are so afraid of losing the representation in parliament that they are practically willing to make any internal compromise as long as the four of them at Christiansborg can keep going and not reveal the internal misery in the party to the "voters"....

Thus: If KAP is to nominate candidates, there must be a solid base. First the solid work among the masses and the party's internal unity and strength, then in the second round, derived from this and completely subordinate to the party and its work in the masses, it may also be of interest to nominate candidates for elections.

[Question] When?

[Answer] That discussion will be carried out in the party.

[Question] Are you optimistic?

[Answer] Yes, and we have good reasons for being optimistic after the convention we have had. We have a strong base, we have a good starting point, we have an enthusiastic membership, we are continuously developing a solid,

concrete policy.... The reformist besiegers will not catch us. We take them seriously, but in the end they are the ones who do poorly. Yes, I am an optimist. The party is optimistic. And we have good reasons for that.... Just look at the difficulties which the bourgeoisie and its reformists are in today!

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FINLAND

OFFICIAL REPLIES TO CHARGES THAT FINLAND RETURNS DEFECTORS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 24 Dec 76 p 7

[Text] The Finnish Foreign Ministry neither refutes nor confirms accusations by dissident Soviet scientist Leonid Plyushty, published in DAGENS NYHETER, that Finland returns political defectors.

Jaakko Iloniemi, head of the political section of the Foreign Ministry, gave his answer to the accusations on Thursday and based his answer on the old argument: Finland follows the statutes concerning foreigners in her handling of defectors.

Dissident Soviet scientist Leonid Plyushty, who lives in France, accused Finland of returning political refugees about 3 weeks ago in Stockholm. At that time Iloniemi refuted the claim and cited an example in which a Soviet refugee who was picked up by a West German boat was able to continue to the West from Helsinki.

Plyushty repeated his claim last Friday in DAGENS NYHETER that Finland is a trap for gullible refugees. He presented a number of questions demanding answers to them from the Finns.

Reply Took a Week--No Further Questions

The Foreign Ministry did not want to comment on Plyushty's accusations, the reporters were told that the matter belongs to section chief Iloniemi, who happened to be ill at the time, however. He was planning to come to work on Monday and a reply to the accusations was promised for that day. On Monday the reply was promised for Tuesday, on Tuesday the reply was postponed till Wednesday, on Wednesday the Foreign Ministry announced it would release Iloniemi's answer on Thursday. On Thursday the Foreign Ministry released a statement which does not answer Plyushty's accusations. Instead, the statement talks about the statutes and agreements Finland follows in her handling of political refugees. Iloniemi was not available for further questions.

Iloniemi's Statement

Section chief Iloniemi's statement to the DAGENS NYHETER is as follows:

"Finland's handling of political refugees has been discussed in your paper in several contexts. In order to make sure that the general picture will be correct I want to add in the following some basic information which explains Finland's position."

"In 1968 Finland joined the general agreement on the legal status of refugees drawn up in 1951 and the accompanying document of 1967. Article 33 of the general agreement forbids the agreement states from expelling or returning 'a refugee to the borders of areas where his life or freedom are threatened due to his race, religion, nationality or because of his political opinions or of being a member of a certain social group'.

"In practice the proper officials follow the 1958 statute on foreigners, whose 24th article is as follows:

"If a foreigner, soon after his arrival, asks for political asylum in the country and, in support of his request, presents probable reasons, the Interior Ministry may, after receiving an opinion from the Foreign Ministry, grant him permission to stay."

The person's legitimate fear of being persecuted in his native country or the country of his residence due to his race, religion, nationality or because of being a member of a certain political or social group, and the fact that he has not received asylum in another country, have to be considered as reasons meant in the above-mentioned article.

"A border agreement between Finland and the Soviet Union which went into force in 1960 is being followed on Finnish-Soviet borders. The agreement prescribes for procedures in handling both intentional and unintentional illegal border crossings. The 31st article of the agreement concerning intentional border crossings is as follows:

- "1. Border authorities will take necessary measures to prevent border violations by anyone from one side or the other.
- 2. Questions concerning returning in cases of border violations which are intentional and which border authorities cannot immediately solve will be handled through diplomatic channels.

"Numerous border violations take place annually at Finnish borders, land as well as water borders. The overwhelming majority of them are unintentional and are caused by ignorance, erroneous estimates, etc. A very small number of intentional illegal border violations are ones in which political asylum is requested. In these cases Finnish authorities naturally follow the abovementioned statute's 24th paragraph.

"The Border Patrol has orders, according to which every intentional or unintentional border violation will be investigated separately in the prescribed order," Ilomaki's statement points out.

Foreign Ministry Decides

Last year there were 54 so-called border events caused by persons at the Finnish border. Border violations by political refugees, among other things, go under this heading in the books of the Border Patrol. This number also includes "border events" caused by Finns.

In practice Border Patrol is a merely managerial authority, which takes its orders from the Foreign Ministry and the foreigner office at the Interior Ministry, whose section head has also announced he is following the statute concerning foreigners.

In practice the decision is made by the Foreign Ministry and its political section. Based on their recommendation the foreigner office makes its formal decision whether the political refugee will be granted asylum or whether he will be returned. The Border Patrol carries out the decision made at the foreigner office of the Interior Ministry according to the recommendation of the political section of the Foreign Ministry.

Plyushty's Accusations

Plyushty claimed that Finnish police and border patrol return Soviet refugees immediately. Plyushty also suspected that the Finnish-Soviet border agreement is in conflict with international agreements on political asylum.

Plyushty promised that if his information is erroneous he can be sued in court for libel by Finnish authorities. "This would give me an opportunity to show that Finland has become a trap for those who want to escape the Soviet Union."

Early last year Plyushty was freed from a Soviet mental hospital where he had spent two and a half years. He was allowed to leave the Soviet Union with his family and go to France where he now resides.

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GREECE

NASTOULIS INTERVIEW ON 'NEW ORDER,' FOREIGN RIGHTIST GROUPS

Athens TA NEA in Greek 30 Nov 76 p 5

/Interview with Dimitris Nastoulis by Ira Feloukatzi/

Text7 The extreme rightists are intensifying their movements in Europe with Munich, Italy, Spain and especially Paris as their centers for extensive activity in view of the forthcoming elections. Several Greek rightists have been identified in the overall effort for the restoration of the extreme right in Europe. We have already mentioned in previous articles the presence in Paris of Nastoulis, the founder of the National Socialist Union of Greece. Following publication of those articles which created considerable concern among some circles of Greek rightists, Nastoulis communicated with us. A meeting was arranged on purely professional grounds and with the understanding that whatever he had to say during an interview would reflect his persistence to the juntist mentality and to the hard core efforts. The interview reveals the degree to which the rightist movements developed on an international scale.

Nastoulis was careful not to make earth-shaking revelations which might cost him ground in Greece. As a matter of fact he wanted, for greater security, to see in writing the answers given during the recorded interview! In any event, what he decided to say contains enough information for one to see clearly a Greek and European right wing lineup.

Activities, Congresses, Contacts

Question What are your present activities in Greece and what are your relations with the "New Order?"

Answer I found the New Order in Greece during the Ioannidis period not as an anti-revolutionary organization in the sense of the so-called anti-revolutionary organizations but as an extremely nationalistic organ under the then prevailing situation. Our objective was to prevent the return to power of the old political clique and to ask for the punishment of certain opportunists who served the revolutionary regime out of self-interest

and adulterated the letter and spirit of the 21 April /1967/ historic dawn. After the fall of the dictatorship I founded, with Supreme Court (Areios Pagos) approval, the National Socialist Union of Greece which is a political party.

 \sqrt{Q} uestion What is the objective of your new party and how does the New Order appear today?

Answer Today the New Order is being strengthened in Greece as an idea and not as an organization, but this too can be done if circumstances warrant it. It is well organized in all countries of Europe and this fact is comforting to us Greeks. We direct our efforts toward this goal and for this reason we have developed, together with the European nationalist movements, a cooperation in the ideological sector.

Question Much is said about your movements abroad. You are regularly visiting Germany where your meetings with Strauss are known. It seems that you have headquarters in France for broader movements and contacts with organizations in Italy and Spain. What is the objective of these activities?

Answer? My contacts with European nationalistic movements aim always at developing closer ideological and practical cooperation in order that we may be able to react jointly however and whenever the need arises. It has been established that today's so-called democratic bourgeois regimes are not in a position to protect the world from the red tyrant known as communism. We are determined regardless of sacrifices to fight in order to halt the communist infiltration in the European area.

Danger Mongering

Question There are foreign press reports and other information concerning the development and intensification of rightist movements in Europe through congresses, gatherings, activities. You have been reported as participating in such movements. What is the objective of your participation?

Answer? I am accused of participating in nationalistic congresses. If and when the need arises I shall of course participate. This, however, does not mean that our movement is dependent on other movements. From its inception until today, international communism has to its credit innumerable congresses in which the Greek communists also take part. No one has ever protested and no newspaper has accused the communist congresses which are an insolent provocation against the people. As far as we are concerned the communist organizations have the same objective at all times: the violent usurpation of power. Therefore as Greeks we are under obligation to organize because we believe in Greece and because we are not "yes" men to anyone. And if ever our country faces danger we shall offer our services to combat the communist menace. Today we see in Greece three communist parties. They all continue to have the same

ideology and the same goal. Naturally the communists are getting organized in order to attempt to do what they tried in the past.

Question Since you base your activities on the negative premise that it is not possible for the leftist or socialist parties to predominate in elections, you are clearly working against parliamentarianism and therefore against democracy. Is this not so?

Answer We are fighting against that type of parliamentarianism that leads to anarchy. From what we read in the newspapers Greece has become a center for contraband weapons. I think that these things happen only on the communist side, not on ours. We do not need to import weapons from abroad since they exist and they are in the hands of the army and the Security Corps which will assume the initiative when the nation is in danger(1)

Question We understand that any deviation from the proper parliamentary confrontation which is respected by all sides in Europe will lead to the violent overthrow of democracy at the expense of the countries and their people. In whose name do you defend Greece against the people who decided by their vote in whose hands to place their trust?

/Answer/ The politicians who are responsible for the present conditions in Greece do not have margins for academic discussions but only for decisions and action. It is not only the communists who are enemies of the fatherland but also their fellow travelers who cooperate with them in undermining the army and the Security Corps by terrorizing them with dejuntization methods, with slander through the press, with trials, court sentences, dismissals, with insults by hoodlums and beatings by bullies such as was the behavior 2 days ago of a certain Panagoulis during a demonstration. In the foreign affairs sector we are astounded at the way the political world handles the whole situation. The statements by the ambassador of Greece in London and the interview KATHIMERINI publisher Eleni Vlakhou gave to a Turkish newspaper -- about joint exploitation of the Aegean -- speak very eloquently about the patriotism and the courage of the representatives of our unfortunate nation as well as about their readiness to provoke through their inertness the arrogant Attilas demands for cession of Greek areas.

There is one thing I have to say about it all. These gentlemen have plunged Greece into new adventures and if ever the Greeks' patriotism is awakened they should have a fate similar to that of Menderes and his followers. I believe that even now at this eleventh hour political men with untarnished national conscience will be forgiven by the Greek people if they delineate their responsibilities.

European Right

Question / President-elect / Carter says that he is willing to cooperate with European leftist parties prevailing in elections -- if there is good

will on their part. How do you see this new policy anticipated in the White House and not conforming with your views?

/Answer/ I appreciate and respect Carter's views. However, Carter alone will not be taking decisions for America and its overall interests. I do not think that there will be dissension between the government views and those of other political forces, secret services, etc., because America will always remain America. The Americans, regardless of party affiliations, are always determined to protect their interests.

Question What is the purpose of your presence in Europe? Is your visit to France temporary or a long-term one? Why is there such an exuberance of rightist movements especially in Europe?

Answer? Europe is in greater danger from communism and all of us therefore must be aware of it and must undertake a joint struggle to cope with such a danger. There is an exchange of views as well as cooperation among nationalistic movements. Such contacts will continue on a long-term basis because we are determined as I have already told you to fight jointly to meet this communist danger.

Question There are several Greeks here in France at the present time and, according to reports, your presence is related to theirs. Do you act as a group or individually?

/Answer7 I cannot give you names. Yes, I do know that a few /Greeks7 are here. They were mentioned in the Greek press in connection with robberies and other activities in France. Our movement has no connection whatever with matters which are under the jurisdiction of justice. You are asking me about my relations with Greeks here. I do not have any relations with the Greek Embassy. I know that some political figures have come here but I did not have any contacts with them. There are indeed some old Greek Military Police followers here working in various jobs. /About/ Ioannidis? I can assure you that I do not have any relations with him. My presence here represents exclusively the National Socialist Union of Greece. But I am at a loss to understand why at this moment and for what reason the entire press is attacking us and why the Greek authorities have undertaken investigations to find out the sources financing us. As is known, the communists have at their disposal enormous amounts of money for the publications they issue as well as for organizational purposes. Why have not the press and the authorities ever asked where this money comes from? I would very much like to see in Greece an implementation of the "where did you get it" /principle/ so that investigations could be undertaken in all directions in order to find out those being financed from abroad.

/Question/ Well, enlighten us about the sources which are financing you.

Answer Our financing always comes from members' contributions. There are no restrictions as to the amount of a contribution -- a member contributes

as much as he can. Our movement was never financed from abroad. Our cooperation with the sister national movements of Europe is on equal terms and on a level of mutuality. It is limited only to the ideological sector for combatting the communist danger.

Question In what classes do the people who finance you belong?

/Answer/ In all classes you will find people who believe in this nationalistic ideology.

Question Are these persons parliamentarians or are they in the army or the Security Corps as certain rumors have it?

Answer? I have told you that we have members belonging to all classes. It is therefore natural to have members who are in the army and the Security Corps. The nationalism of most of our members is irreproachable. They believe in this national campaign and they are in both the army and the Security Corps. The present government has tried to create a phobia and corruption in the Armed Forces and the Security Corps through the de-juntization method (imprisonment, retirements from military service, transfers, etc.). But it failed to accomplish anything. On the contrary, it succeeded in strengthening the faith of these people in the ideal known as Greece.

How Many Members?

/Question How many members does your organization have?

Answer7 We have a large number of members. We have enrolled and also non-enrolled members because of difficulties for certain people. The concept "member" is not defined by enrollment in the membership lists of the movement but by the dedication and devotion to the movement. It is known that many times in the past the security authorities raided our offices and therefore it is not possible to have all members listed.

Qaddafi-Strauss

Question Your trips to Libya, Munich, Italy are known. What are your relations with political figures in these countries?

Answer/ Following the February 1975 disclosures about a New Order in Libya I stayed there for 3 months as the guest of Qaddafi. I returned a little later. My relations with Libya are very good. I have faith in and I admire President Qaddafi because he is a nationalist-socialist and his program has brought many benefits to his country. My relations with him/ are always friendly. Now about Europe. The so-called "National Socialist Movement" is much stronger there than in Greece. We have relations with the movement headed by Strauss and I think that he is a personality which today is towering over the European scene as proved

by the fact that he climbed the ladder of political hierarchy very quickly. Our hopes for the future are many because we consider him as a guarantee for Europe.

Question What is the purpose of your cooperation with Strauss and of his visits to Greece? Is it a matter of "exchanges" or of influence?

/Answer/ No, no question of influence exists. In my opinion and from what I know, an exchange of views exists. A cooperation amongst the nationalistic movements can exist but the two /exchanges and cooperation/ are independent of each other. The activities and the cooperation are always within the framework of the law.

Italy-Spain

/Question/ What are your relations with Italian rightist organizations?

/Answer I am associated with Almirante's movement—the "National Social Movement"—and with the people of the New Order in Italy as well as with the nationalistic movements in Spain. There is mutual cooperation but at the same time we maintain our autonomy.

Question What is the purpose of your frequent presence in France and with what activities is it associated?

/Answer/ There exist various national organizations. As I have explained, there is ideological cooperation and exchange of views among us. We have relations with persons of the French nationalistic organizations such as Le Pen's "National Front" and the "New Forces" party whose leader is Pascal Gaushon /phonetic transliteration/.

Amin Also

/Question 7 What are your traveling plans for the near future?

Answer7 I will travel to all countries of Europe but my final destination is Uganda.

Question 7 Will you meet Marshall Amin?

Answer Of course. I maintain friendly relations with that country and I admire President Amin in the same way I admire President Qaddafi, as I already told you. I expect to return to Greece before the holidays.

EXTENSIVE INVESTMENT BY SKALISTIRI GROUP

Athens HELLENEWS-EXPRESS in English 30 Dec 76 pp 5, 6

[Text] The SKALISTIRI Group of mining enterprises has announced its latest investment plans, i.e.

- 1. A factory for concentration of magnesite waste by floatation with humid magnets (nearing completion).
- 2. Two factories for concentration of magnesite ore, each with a 3,000-ton daily capacity.
- 3. Re-magnetising installation at Paraskevorema, also nearing completion.
- 4. Plant to crush, sift and mix dolomite and modifications to tubular kiln for the manufacture of refractory bricks, (nearing completion).
- 5. Completion of two pilot plants for tests in connection with the production of ferro-nickel and processing of alonite.
- 6. Development of the magnesite mine at Ormylia and installation of concentration plant based on methods patented by the group itself for floatation, burning and moulding into briquettes (2 shaft kilns with an output capacity of 50,000 tons of dead-burnt magnesium briquettes per annum). This item due for completion within 1977 will cost Drs 360 million.
- 7. A dry-cell accumulators factory at Toxotes near Xanthi. Raw material will be concentrated and ground (manganese dioxide from the Group's own mines near Drama). The job will be completed in 1977 at a cost of Drs 215 million.
- 8. Development of a magnesite mine on the island of Lesvos with plans for an ore concentration plant. A Drs 120 million investment will be involved.
- 9. Installation of plant in Northern Evvoia for the production of deadburnt magnesia, using sea water, the study for which is almost complete.

A pilot plant is about to operate. An investment of Drs 1700 million will go into this project due for completion in 1979. Drs 170 million will go towards environmental protection.

- 10. Installation of plant to produce 40,000 tons of ferro-nickel per annum (25% nickel content) using the low-grade laterite ferrous-nickel ores of Central Evvoia. This will cost Drs 2100 million and will be ready in 1980 if electric energy and powdered lignite can be supplied at competitive prices. BECHTEL of Canada are carrying out the studies for the project.
- 11. Tests are being carried out to determine if potassium sulphate and refractory silicate material can be used for the production of mullite and sulphur from the alonite and sulphur mines owned by the Group on the island of Milos.
- 12. Acquisition of machinery and excavators for modernizing the mines at a rate of purchases worth Drs 200 million per annum.
- 13. Drs 600 million to be set aside for the next five years for technical research within the Group.
- 14. Opening up of new mining centres:
- --Magnesite at Servia and Kranidi
- --Bauxite at Metochi (Mt. Iti), Giona, Atalanti, and Amorgos
- --Chromite at Domokos and Nezerou-Rodiaki near Kozani.

GREECE

DOMESTIC PRODUCERS PROTEST IMPORTS OF ASIAN PORCELAIN CHINA

Athens O OIKONOMIKOS TAKHYDROMOS in Greek 9 Dec 76 no page given

[Text] Imports of Asiatic porcelain china are once again in the limelight. Whereas the administration of the Commercial Chamber of Salonica is calling in a relevant memorandum for the lifting of the related prohibition (Decision 7632/9441/102/26 October 1976) on the grounds that "it does not serve any very substantial purposes," the domestic producers of these articles—in an action addressed to the authorities—are asking on the contrary that the relevant decision of the Ministry of Commerce should continue to be implemented, because imports which are being made from other countries (aside from the Asiatic countries) are already doing considerable damage to this branch of industry.

At the same time, according to the available data of the National Statistical Service, imports of these articles from China, Formosa, and Japan in the 4-month period January-April 1976 reached 326 tons (that is, 1,000 tons per year), at a time when the domestic units are producing 2,500 tons of porcelain china and 13,500 tons of faience and artificial porcelain--for the making of which about 2,400 workers and technicians are employed.

Therefore the Greek industrial outfits in this field are raising the following question:

Why are imports being made from countries with which our balance of trade shows a debit against us, and indeed at a time when there is a domestic industry?

But in parallel with the debit of our balance because of imports of this item from these specific countries, the representatives of the domestic production units explain that with these Greek porcelain products, work is secured for the occupation of decorators, and also for the decalocomania craftsmen.

It is also recalled that the importing of such items from abroad neither employs Greek manpower nor contributes to the IKA [Social Insurance Foundation], nor does it achieve any exchange savings, whereas at the same time the contribution made by this specific industrial branch in benefit of the sector of national defense should not be forgotten.

Furthermore--against the argument of the importers that in the case of articles of Asiatic porcelain the various separate pieces are being offered at lower prices, resulting in the creation of a competitive activity in the market place to the benefit of the consumer--leading figures in the market express the point of view that this specific argument does not stand up to criticism.

Because, they stress, these items are being offered at very low prices in the various Asiatic countries, but they are being offered in the Greek market at almost the same prices as the domestic products.

Characteristically, the spokesmen for the domestic production units point out that it follows from the data of the statistical service that the price--inclusive of cost, insurance, and freight--per kilogram of the white or monochrome porcelain of Chinese origin was 32.41 drachmas in the period of time January-May 1976. But at the same time, they add, the labor cost alone in the domestic industry is 32 drachmas per kilogram.

Thus, they add, the importers have gotten especially low cost prices for these specific items--which, however, they are then promoting in the market at the same price level as the domestic products. Therefore, they emphasize, it is the importers who are profiting by this large price difference.

The representatives of the Greek industrial outfits are asking: "Where then is the support to the consumer?"

Finally, in a relevant memorandum by the domestic industries to the Ministry of Commerce, it is stressed that aside from the other things the possibility ought to be examined of taking suitable measures for facing in a substantial way the threat which is emerging against this specific industrial branch.

"Moreover," this memorandum adds, "many of the West European countries are doing this, notwithstanding that their corresponding industries, having a tradition of many tens if not many hundreds of years, have long ago already fully matured and can more easily deal with unfair competition."

GREECE

TANAGRA AIRCRAFT PLANT TO BE LARGEST IN AREA

Athens O OIKONOMIKOS TAKHYDROMOS in Greek 2 Dec 76 p 33

[Text] This is a preliminary model of the factory complex being built in Tanagra of the first Greek aircraft industry. As is known, the programming, the designs, and the construction of the entire project have been commissioned by the Greek government to the international company Consultants-Engineers-Builders of Austin, which is already going forward on the construction in association with Lockheed, General Electric, and Westinghouse. The factory complex for the maintenance and fabrication of aircraft equipment is planned for completion around the middle of 1978. It is figured that more than 3,000 workers will be employed there when it is put into full operation. It will include hangars for airplanes, shops, offices, and also a roofed section having a total area of 330,000 square meters. It is worth noting that the Tanagra complex will be one of the largest in the Mediterranean area. And of course it will be conducive to a sharp advancement in the Greek aircraft industry.

GREECE

CRETAN FARMERS PROTEST ORDERED DESTRUCTION OF CUCUMBER CROP

Athens TA NEA in Greek 29 Nov 76 p 12

[Article by correspondent Kostas Resvanis]

[Text] Ierapetra, 29 Nov--The growers of early-season vegetables in southern Crete are being threatened by utter economic catastrophe. There has been no exporting in connection with this year's cucumber production (20,000-25,000 tons), because of the increased equalizing levy which the EEC has imposed for the protection of the crop of the Netherlands.

The spectacle which we saw in Ierapetra was shocking, and it indicates the state of despair of and the damage done to the growers.

Using hundreds of vehicles, they are dumping 200 tons of cucumbers daily at a predetermined site, in order to collect the "destruction price" which the state is giving them (4-5 drachmas per kilogram).

"When in the central market at Irakleion, just one cucumber is selling for as much as 10 drachmas, the state—in trying to patch up its inconsistent economic policy—is forcing the farmers to destroy 200 tons of this produce daily," stressed a representative of the growers.

Reasons For Destruction

The growers of Ierapetra identify by means of the following points the essential problem which is thus faced by the early-season vegetable growers:

- 1. The organs of the state have been insistently exhorting the growers to cultivate cucumbers for export, without guaranteeing the marketing of the cucumber production.
- 2. The EEC has twice (!) imposed an equalizing levy. In the second levy, it called for 4 marks per crate, in order to protect the Netherlands' cucumber production.
- 3. The state organs promised the merchants that they would subsidize cucumbers at 3 drachmas per kilogram, if they bought them from the growers at 6 drachmas.

This promise was broken, and the merchants have stopped buying cucumbers.

4. Despite the fact that the production costs amount to 12 drachmas per kilogram, the state is promising to give to the growers 4-5 drachmas per kilogram, under the condition that their crops are destroyed!!!

The seashore at Ierapetra is being covered each day with 200 tons of mashed cucumbers, and the villagers of Tymvakion and Ierapetra have organized and are preparing to march to the Irakleion nomarchy offices in order to dump their entire crop in front of the entrance to the building.

BRIEFS

JOINT GREEK-JORDANIAN PHARMACEUTICALS COMPANY--KHROPEI, S.A., one of Greece's pioneer firms in the chemical, pharmaceutical and paint lines, has participated in the founding of a new Jordanian firm at Amman, entitled JORDAN MEDICAL MANUFACTURING Co. Consultancy services for construction and equipment of the new Company's factory, now being built, have been supplied by KHROPEI. In the initial stage, the plant will turn out solutions for enteric complaints and later various medicinal specialities. Packing of the former in plastic containers is being based on a patent developed by KHROPEI and used for its own output of the same products. The negotiations were finalized in Athens during a fairly recent visit by Mr. Waez Zurub, one of the managing directors of JORDAN MEDICAL MANUFACTURING Co. [Text] [Athens HELLENEWS-EXPRESS in English 23 Dec 76 p 5]

IPEIROS PHOSPHORITE EXPLOITATION PROSPECTS--After his tour of Ipeiros, K. Konofagos, Minister of Industry, has made supplementary statements on the phosphorite deposits discovered by I.G.M.E. (Institute of Geological and Mineral Resources). According to the latest data, the deposit, after the first exploratory boreholes were completed, appears as a long strip between two limestone layers which, at several points reveals surface lodes and has been found to vary in thickness between two and ten metres. It manifests itself in a more or less stable fashion for 50-60 kms of which a 15 km continuous strip is to be found near the village of Delvinaki. It reappears near Ioannina, and along the slopes of Mt. Mitsikeli, and again near the village of Drymona in the Province of Preveza [Nomarchy]. The pentoxide of phosphorus content has so far been found to vary from 8%-25%. With suitable installations for concentration, the deposit is considered worth exploiting but reliable figures to confirm any such possibilities will take six months to accumulate. Exploration is in progress to determine the points at which open-pit mining could begin. Greece is stated to require about 650,000 tons of phosphorite of a 30% pentoxide of phosphorus content for its chemical fertilizer industry, and this is presently being imported at a cost of about \$30 million. The necessary arrangements are being made to hasten exploratory work. [Text] [Athens HELLENEWS-EXPRESS in English 30 Dec 76 p 3]

TELECOMMUNICATIONS MATERIAL MANUFACTURE--Mr. A. Tsaldaris, Deputy Minister of Communications, made it amply clear last week that his Ministry will have nothing to do with the question of nationalization or otherwise of the industries in Greece which manufacture telecommunications equipment (SIEMENS-ITT-PHILIPS). Instead, he said, the whole matter had been put into the hands of ETVA (Hellenic Industrial Development Bank) which had been given up to 5 months in which to carry out the necessary study and submit its recommendations. In due course, he would be informed of whatever recommendations were made. (Editor's comment: If nationalization were finally to be decided, ETVA would be the most natural and appropriate agency to found or participate in whatever concern was set up to handle the resulting industrial complex.) [Text] [Athens HELLENEWS-EXPRESS in English 30 Dec 76 pp 3, 4]

AUGUST ELECTRICITY FIGURES--DEI (Public Power Corporation) has released figures on August 1976 output of electric energy. It was shown to have been 11% above the August 1975 level (1,330,800,088 and 1,199,209,104 KWH respectively). This was produced by hydroelectric stations to the extent of 12.37%, by lignite-fired generating plant to the extent of 59.84%, and by oil-fired generating plant to the extent of 27.79%. Fuel consumption was 1,630,905 tons of lignite and 85,159 tons of fueloil. Consumption figures showed:

Domestic use	248,509,879	KWH	19.88%
Agricultural use	56,261,704	Ħ	4.50%
Commercial use	169,582,291	11	13.56%
Light & Medium Industry	271,850,861	11	21.75%
Heavy Industry	431,754,745	tf	34.53%
Miscellaneous uses	72,270,798	11	5.78%

[Text] [Athens HELLENEWS-EXPRESS in English 30 Dec 76 p 6]

PCI'S BOFFA LAUDS HELSINKI ACT IN REVIEW OF DETENTE

[Editorial Report] Rome L'UNITA in Italian 29 December 1976 and 4 January 1977 carry, both on page 3, two parts totaling 2,500 words of a Giuseppe Boffa article on progress made in detente in 1976. Boffa starts by noting that "No great progress has been made. Too many reasons for uncertainty over the past 12 months affected the behavior of certain more important countries--or groups of countries--for more far-reaching initiatives to be possible. This period too is about to draw to a close." The uncertainties, he explains, stemmed from the "paralyzing" effect of the U.S. presidential election campaign, the political upheavals following Mao's death in China (where, Boffa states, "a new stage in Chinese politics has opened up") and "internal contrasts" within the USSR and its allies, despite "much greater stability in Moscow, albeit at the price of the inevitable aging of the group of leaders gathered round Brezhnev." Boffa also notes the "greater prominence assumed by the phenomena of dissent and the appearance of forms of opposition aspiring to recognition as such" in these latter countries. In Europe, Boffa asserts, 1976 was a year of political uncertainty. "To sum up," he goes on, "we can say that throughout the world the last year has seen internal polemics and struggles prevailing over the major international topics."

Boffa opines that "The most explicit discussion" of detente "took place once again in the United States," in the context also of the election campaign, which "especially in America...is not the most opportune circumstance for a lucid examination of the major problems of international policy." He regrets that "the comparison of ideas never took place at a very high level."

Boffa observes how China continued to oppose detente "at least on the propaganda level, while in fact its diplomacy was, in the rapprochement with America, one of the principal authors of the combination of phenomena which in practice is called detente." His conclusion is that "at the end of a long period of debates and clashes...there is no positive alternative —or at least nobody has been able to indicate one—to detente."

The second part of the article is devoted specifically to a discussion of the results of the Helsinki Conference. Boffa says: "Helsinki has so far

marked the high point in detente in Europe." He gives as an example of its beneficial effects the ratification of the Osimo Treaty to settle the Italian-Yugoslav border. He attributes the success of the conference to the "spirit of negotiation and the principle of consensus" which prevailed. While Europe itself, he goes on, has benefited most from the detente process, no other part of the world can claim to have suffered because of it. Nevertheless, he acknowledges, "most of the polemics in fact are taking place in Europe and concern the application of the Helsinki Agreements. It could even be maintained that none of the signatories of the final document is entirely satisfied with the way its many clauses are being implemented." Boffa considers this inevitable and concludes: "The Helsinki final document was not a treaty aimed at resolving at a stroke an acute crisis in international relations or putting an end to a conflict. It was rather an act of collective will carried out by a number of sovereign states at the end of laborious negotiations to establish a series of points of mutual consensus -- an act to which every side brought different and not always convergent aspirations. Only a longer trial period can reveal its entire value. For the present, however, it can be said that not only has it brought no harm to Europe but it has, on the contrary, brought it a whole series of benefits."

Rome L'UNITA in Italian on 8 January carries on page 3 the 1,500-word third and last part of the Giuseppe Boffa article reported in the referent item. Under the headline "Polemics on Helsinki," Boffa first points out that the various interlocutors gave different meanings to the very principles contained in the Helsinki Conference final document, even when they expressed them in the same words. "The most eloquent example," he continues, "is that of noninterference in other countries' internal affairs." Western countries, he says, point their finger to the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968 or "treaties like the one recently signed by the USSR and the GDR in which the same ideological formulation which in 1968 justified sending troops to Czechoslovakia found an explicit legal justification." "But," Boffa suggests, "Western countries--and above all the most powerful ones--are very far from setting an example of nonintervention." He accuses U.S. and West German leaders of having held it their right "to say who should and who should not be in the government [in Italy and Portugal], making grim threats in case the solution were not to their liking."

The main new argument, Boffa continues, concerns the contents of the "third basket" at the conference, relating to "human relations" among the states. "For us Italian communists," Boffa says, "this problem, which is connected with that of freedoms and political democracy, has an absolute and not a merely specific value—so much so that for some time now we have been making it one of the topics of our discussions with the communists in power in East European countries."

ITALY

YUGOSLAV COMMENT ON PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM NOTED

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 30 Dec 76 p 13 LD

[Unattributed report: "Article in Daily POLITIKA"]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Dec--The Belgrade daily POLITIKA carries a Zoran Zujovic article headlined "Resurrection of Things Past," which polemicizes with the Soviets' use of the expression "proletarian internationalism." Referring to certain articles appearing in Soviet publications, Zujovic states that "The authors make the notion of proletarian internationalism into a general rule of action and the general principle of the theory of the world workers movement...citing Marx, Engels and Lenin. But if it is adopted as a basic principle for activity and cooperation," the Yugoslav newspaper states, "proletarian internationalism...is inevitably interpreted as a simple negation of independence" and becomes a pretext for interfering in the affairs of the other socialist countries.

PCI RECEIVES PCE LOBATO, CARRILLO'S SON

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 31 Dec 76 p 16 LD

[Unattributed report on Rome 30 December 1976 meeting between PCI and PCE representatives: "Pajetta Meets With Lobato and Carrillo's Son"]

[Text] PCI Directorate and Secretariat member Comrade Gian Carlo Pajetta yesterday received PCE Executive Committee member Comrade Lucio Lobato and Comrade Santiago Carrillo Junior. The following comrades were also present at the meeting: PCI Central Committee member and Foreign Section chief Sergio Segre; Central Committee member and Lower House Finance and Treasury Commission Chairman Giuseppe D'Alema; Central Committee member Lina Fibbi; and Foreign Section member Vittorio Orilla.

During the conversation Comrade Pajetta expressed Italian communists' profound satisfaction over the release of Comrade Carrillo and the other comrades arrested a few days ago and asked the Spanish comrades to convey to Santiago Carrillo and to the PCE Central Committee the fraternal greetings and the good wishes of Comrades Luigi Longo and Enrico Berlinguer, of the PCI Central Committee and all Italian communists, who intend further to develop their unitary initiative for full legality for the PCE and all democratic parties.

Comrade Lobato thanked the PCI for the broad movement of solidarity developed in Italy, confirming the profound ties of friendship uniting the Italian and Spanish communist parties, and expressed his great appreciation of the stances adopted by the Italian Government, the democratic parties, the regional authorities and the trade union and mass organizations. The Spanish communist official also said he was convinced that between a Spain which has been restored to democracy and republican Italy intense relations of friendship and cooperation will develop, and he stressed the need for Italian democratic forces to continue—as they have always done over the years—and to step up their solidarity with all the forces in Spain struggling for freedom and democracy.

'KOMMUNIST' ARTICLE SLAMMING 'BICKERING' AMONG CP'S CITED

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 2 Jan 77 p 11 LD

[Unattributed dispatch: "Long KOMMUNIST Article on 'Exchange of Ideas' Among Communist Parties"]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Jan--In a long article devoted mainly to ideological problems especially in connection with relations among the various workers and communist parties, the official CPSU organ KOMMUNIST today states that not to carry out "a profitable exchange of ideas" with fraternal parties in power, not to elaborate with them a joint solution to the movement's problems is "not only harmful, but dangerous."

The journal does not identify the parties which are supposed not to be carrying out this "exchange of ideas" and reasserts the already frequently expressed thesis that socialism can be implemented bearing in mind by all means local historical and social peculiarities, but only on the basis of certain "general truths," which are, in essence, dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism.

According to KOMMUNIST, which polemicizes with the "bourgeois" coiners of the term "pluralism," the new strategic plan of the bourgeois ideologists in their traditional struggle against Marxism-Leninism is becoming increasingly evident—the plan to encourage pluralism by making people believe that there could and should be as many forms of Marxism as there are countries and peoples, in order—the journal asserts—to negate the existence of a general truth.

The writer then asserts that he is not opposed to the "creative application" of Marxism-Leninism, but explains that such application is claimed by "even the bourgeois ideologists" who apply the term "dogmatism" to "international solidarity," which, according to them--KOMMUNIST continues --implies "imposing a single model on the various sectors of the workers movement" and a "single threat to their autonomy."

"Communist parties," KOMMUNIST then states, "do not tolerate the dogmatism which clings to the truths of yesterday and refuses to seek the new

solutions demanded by changed conditions. Nevertheless, the struggle against dogmatism has nothing to do with the abandonment of the fundamental principles which constitute the essence of a theory...."

According to KOMMUNIST, the fundamental "unrenounceable" principle of Marxism-Leninism is the recognition of the "role of the working class." And it explains: "The power of the working class can be exercised in various ways, but there remains the general law of the establishment of a form of state leadership by the working class allied with all working people, in other words, what classic Marxist-Leninists defined as the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Finally, KOMMUNIST expresses the hope, as indicated at the beginning, for "a profitable exchange of ideas" among communist parties and a collective elaboration of the problems, adding: "All forms of provincial snobbery and underestimation of collective efforts in studying theoretical problems would be not only harmful but dangerous." "It is right," the journal concludes, "that communists polemicize among themselves, as long as theoretical discussions do not degenerate into sophistry, or, worse still, into bickering."

REPORT ON FUTURE AIRCRAFT DEVELOPMENT CRITICIZED

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 30 Nov 76 p 27

[Article by Henric Borgström]

[Text] The analysis within the Defense Department which recently called the Swedish aircraft industry into question is being sharply criticized by FMV [Defense Materiel Office], as DAGENS NYHETER hears. FMV is the agency that buys all the materiel for defense, and that office now considers that the Defense Department's analysts made poor use of the information furnished by FMV.

A few weeks ago Defense Department analysts Ingvar Ehrling and Karl-Erik Strand presented a report that drew a great deal of attention. In it they maintained that the public economic consequences (employment, trade balance, and taxes) over the long run would be "manageable" even if Swedish development of new planes ceased.

In a sharp response, the materiel office now points out that

- The economic consequences to defense were not discussed fully, and that for that reason it will not do to draw conclusions for the whole public economy;
- Spin-off effects, i.e. the civilian value of military research, were not considered in connection with the dropping of the aircraft industry;
- The analysts only took the long view and did not come to grips with the problems that would arise immediately;
- Various increased costs connected with manufacture under license were not taken up at all, such as adaptation of foreign planes to Swedish military requirements and the rise in costs in the world around us;
- The supply of planes on the international market may be limited by various countries' stopping their production, and Sweden may therefore find it hard to buy combat planes abroad; and
- Sweden cannot take part in various compensation deals if the finished

planes are sold to "blacklisted" countries.

FMV also considers that the employment figures given are not right. Some expenses were also computed when the Defense Department's analysts were preparing their report some time ago.

The analysts said that if aircraft development were dropped, Saab would have to reduce its personnel, about 2,000 technicians in Linköping, by 200 a year for five years.

Tore Gullstrand, head of Saab's aircraft division, replied the same day that at least 1,000 employees would have to be given notice immediately if parliament made such a decision next spring.

DAGENS NYHETER has now gotten access to the figures on future employment in the secret part of the report. It is stated there that of the 1,500 persons who work directly with aircraft development (the rest are concerned with robots, among other things), Saab would have to lay off 450 persons in 1977-1978 (July to June), 220 in 1978-1979, and 200 in 1979-1982. Saab has a natural attrition of about 70 employees a year.

FMV's criticism is now being sent to defense, which some time in the new year must come up with a proposal that will be quite decisive as to the possibilities of developing advanced Swedish combat planes in the future.

According to what DAGENS NYHETER hears, there are groups within the two government center parties that rather favor the social democratic line --continued Swedish development involves us in too great defense spending over the long term. The moderates are considered to be looking hard for a chance to compromise within the government.

8815

VIGGEN FAILS TO MEET DUAL PURPOSE REQUIREMENTS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 2 Dec 76 p 7

[Article by Sven Svensson]

[Text] As far as Sweden is concerned, the performance requirements for pursuit and attack planes will be getting further and further apart. Viggen (the Wedge) type, therefore, looks like a less appropriate solution. Chief Engineer Sven Hellman of the defense department has reached that conclusion in a study of Sweden's security policy and defense industry.

Hellman does not believe that attack planes suitable for Sweden will be developed abroad in the future, and in the pursuit plane field he is still doubtful, as the question of the time scale has not yet been adequately studied.

Under any circumstances, Sweden must depend greatly on other countries for procurement of the highest-quality defense material, but such forms of procurement should be chosen that the rest of the world's confidence in Swedish security policy will not be shaken.

It is not likely that defense material developed for another country will fit directly into Sweden's military and geographic situation. This is especially true of aviation, where the technical integration of base and combat control with various alternative armaments is important.

Dispersal

For the Swedish air force to have adequate staying power, the planes' vulnerability on the ground must be reduced by dispersal. Furthermore, special take-off and landing characteristics are required, so that costly base resources can be limited.

Domestic development and production of high-quality weapons systems causes economic difficulties but has substantial advantages. Existing buffer stocks provide for continued production for about a year after communications with other countries are broken off.

In developmental work Sweden is decisively dependent on the influx of technical knowledge from abroad, but high-quality developmental work still always involves risks of failure.

Fast Pace

Production under license involves smaller technical risks, but presupposes good relations with the licensing countries over many years.

Purchase of high-quality defense materiel abroad will continue to take place in a "buyer's market" in the future, but deliveries will be made at a fast pace, and this creates problems in retraining air force units. If our foreign relations should deteriorate, political conditions might be set for continued deliveries.

Development and production of defense materiel jointly with another country requires that the cooperation can go on undisturbed for a long period of time. In the course of a war the partner may demand deliveries even if that is in conflict with the Swedish policy of neutrality.

The choice of forms of procurement have an effect on military technical development. Future pilotless attack aircraft should have considerably increased probability for hitting targets in the event of invasion of our borders or coasts, Hellman thinks. At the same time the effectiveness of the antiaircraft defense is improving, and this means that measures must be taken to reduce the vulnerability of our attack planes.

Armament

It is thought abroad that attacks should be concentrated on more remote, valuable, and readily discernible targets, such as traffic junctions, bases, maintenance units, etc. Sweden's military and geographical situation makes that uneconomical in case of an invasion of Sweden. For a Swedish attack plane, therefore, greater weight should be attached to the plane's armament than to the plane's technical performance, Hellman thinks.

The consequences of military technical development for pursuit planes have not been studied. There is no indication at present that the demands on pursuit planes will change radically. To prevent Swedish air space from being systematically used by belligerents, it must be possible to repel violations. That calls for a high degree of readiness and certain range and maneuverability characteristics, according to Hellman.

For the pursuit plane to be effective under conditions where telecommunications are disturbed, the individual plane should have a certain combat control capacity. Hellman concludes from this that the demands are largely the same as those made of the pursuit version of Viggen.

Hellman thinks that it is not very likely that an attack plane that meets the Swedish demands will be developed abroad. The pursuit plane's requirements have not yet been determined. Hellman emphasizes the close integration between the pursuit plane, its armament, combat control, and bases.

His final conclusion is that giving up the Swedish line would create such a total dependence on a future seller country that it can hardly be acceptable from the point of view of security policy.

8815

MILITARY AIRCRAFT PRODUCTION TOO EXPENSIVE

Stockholm EXPRESSEN in Swedish 5 Dec 76 p 2

[Text] Liquidate the Swedish aircraft industry. Table the so-called B3LA project.

Sweden no longer has any means of maintaining the military aircraft industry. In the future we must buy planes abroad.

It is indisputable, of course, that a completely "made in Sweden" defense is best from the standpoint of neutrality, but in the economic situation of to-day such a defense is completely unrealistic.

Next year's defense budget is expected to wind up at a level that corresponds to the commander in chief's medium plan, the "B level."

At that level, according to the commander in chief, there is no room for the B3LA light attack plane, and consequently no room for a Swedish aircraft industry, either.

Within a few weeks the defense administration must definitely make up its mind what our defense is to look like. If in some strange way it does find a place for the B3LA in the B level, that will have two consequences:

Since Swedish planes are considerably more expensive than foreign ones, we cannot possibly make ourselves very many of them. A Swedish-made plane would therefore result in too small an air force.

Furthermore, maintaining the aircraft industry would undoubtedly be at the expense of the army. We have lots of soldiers, but they would soon lack modern, high-quality weapons.

From the standpoint of neutrality, a small air force and a wretched army is a still worse alternative than using imported planes.

Therefore, the defense administration should not hesitate to make a decision that involves ending Saab's military aircraft development.

Inserting a proviso in the resolution that Viggen's (the Wedge's) successors will be discussed solves no problems. It would be more painful to stop the activity in 1982 than now.

The effects of dismantling the aircraft industry are still unclear on many points. Just how necessary is the aircraft industry for Swedish exports as a whole?

But even if those effects are great and even if Swedish industry needs Saab's aircraft production, that should not be decisive in determining what Swedish defense is to look like.

Obviously, too, in the present employment situation it is hard to close down an industry. However, employment in Linköping must not prevent defense from using the defense appropriation in the most effective way.

Purchase of planes abroad involves difficult problems.

Foreign planes will not fit our conditions as well as planes made in Sweden.

Sweden, for example, needs a light, simple attack plane for use against ground targets in northern Sweden, but no such plane can be bought. NATO (and the Warsaw Pact as well) needs, instead, high-quality planes to attack large, important targets far behind enemy lines.

Certainly the B3LA would have been an excellent solution.

And certainly purchase abroad will weaken confidence in Swedish freedom to make or dissolve alliances.

How far can we go, for instance, without the Swedish air force and defense being thought of as a copy of NATO?

Can we accept the close military collaboration that will be the consequence of purchase abroad? American technicians with Swedish air squadrons? Swedish soldiers training in the United States?

These disadvantages are undeniably painful, but we have no choice. The Swedish people are not prepared to devote more money to defense than they are now doing.

But you cannot get away from the fact that for every krona less of the defense appropriation, confidence in Swedish neutrality is that much less.

5588

SWITZERLAND

SWISS PROTEST CONSTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 21 Dec 76 p 9

[Text] Protest Rally in Kaiseraugst

Kaiseraugst, 19 December. On Saturday afternoon about 800 persons took part in a "site inspection" organized by the "Nonviolent Action Group Against the Nuclear Power Plant Kaiseraugst" (Gagak). During the rally changes in the construction site of the planned nuclear power plant were pointed out. There were also renewed demands for construction stoppage, either altogether or at least for 4 years.

In a unanimously passed resolution it was pointed out that since occupation of site was halted in June 1975 an information pavilion has been constructed, a high-voltage power line to the construction site has been built, exploratory test drilling on the site has been done, excavation materials have been hauled away, and exit ramps from autobahn N3 to the construction site have been built. These changes as well as the repeated statements by Federal Councillor Ritschard that the nuclear power plant Kaiseraugst is going to be built were considered challenges to all opponents of nuclear power plants. In spring of 1975 the construction site was occupied in order to prevent the construction of the nuclear power plant. Later in the year the site was vacated in order to give parliament a chance to give serious consideration to the demands of the opponents.

Present at the "site inspection" were representatives from Brokdorf, Whyl, Malville, and towns in Switzerland, France, and Germany where construction of nuclear power plants is planned.

The Response of the NWA

Basel, 18 December. Reacting to a draft for a parliamentary resolution to amend the atom law the Northwest Swiss Action Group Against Nuclear Power Plants (NWA) declared that the condition that new nuclear power plants, including the one at Kaiseraugst, should be built only if a definite need for them could be proven, could indeed be considered an advance, as compared to

the present situation. However, the group could not fully accept the new conditions because the proof of need would be based on the interim report by the commission on total energy planning, whose members almost exclusively represent special interests. Therefore, construction stoppage right now was especially necessary. Furthermore, the NWA argued strongly against the short deadline for responses. It was obvious that the revised conditions were to be enacted quickly so that excuses could be made available for the construction of nuclear power plants at Kaiseraugst, Graben, and Verbois.

The NWA would continue to insist on its known demands: "A democartic referendum by the population affected, insurance of safe storage and disposal of atomic waste which will pose deadly threats for thousands of years to come, and a 4-year moratorium on construction and planning for all nuclear power plants in Switzerland.

Geneva Has Second Thoughts Concerning Super-Phenix

Geneva, 18 December. In its meeting on Friday The Geneva Superior Council by overwhelming majority passed a motion concerning the French nuclear power plant Super-Phenix located at Creys-Malville (Isere), 71 km direct distance from Geneva. In the motion the Geneva State Council is directed to ask parliament to request from the French government detailed data on the planned security arrangements and the work schedule for Super-Phenix. If the request is not honored to full satisfaction, parliament should appeal to international organizations such as the European Council, the International Energy Agency, and the World Court. Those supporting the motion agreed that the questions concerning the responsibility for Super-Phenix have by far not been clarified, and that a mishap in a nuclear power plant could have dramatic consequences for the Rhone-Alps area and for Geneva.

Rough Construction Work at Goesgen Completed

A few days ago the rough construction work at the nuclear power plant Goesgen-Daeniken was completed with the final concrete work on the cupola of the reactor building. Since Easter 1976 several adjacent buildings have been put into operation, among them part of the control room. Other important buildings are to be completed within the next few months. In a press conference the Goesgen-Daeniken Nuclear Power Plant Company stated that beginning of operations is definitely planned for May 1978. The start of a chain reaction in the reactor is to take place at the end of 1977 or at the beginning of 1978. The first shipment of nuclear fuel as well as a reserve shipment are currently being prepared in the Federal Republic of Germany and are scheduled to arrive at the construction site in early summer 1977.

As of the end of November construction costs (including a downpayment for nuclear fuel) amounted to about 1,400 million Swiss francs. Total costs are estimated as before to reach 1,900 million Swiss francs. Stock capital of the Goesgen-Daeniken Nuclear Power Plant Company amounts to 300 million Swiss francs, bond capital to 1,050 million Swiss francs.

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